2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

this particular phratry is commonly called 'Badaga'. At a rough estimate it numbers eighty thousand. I prefer to use the correct but not widely recorded name Gauda, as it obviates the confusion that can arise in calling one phratry and the entire community by the same name. The word *Gauda* also points to their derivation from the Kanarese farmers and cattle-breeders known by that name (a branch of the Okkaliga caste; Thurston, 1906; vol. II, 269–272).

The Badaga Gaudas today occupy some three hundred villages; hence, unlike the members of a smaller phratry, no Gauda can hope to have friends or relatives in every village. Often a man cannot be too certain about whether a particular *distant* village belongs to his own or to another clan. This can raise difficulties when a marriage is being arranged with a village into which the groom's lineage or village has not previously married. Otherwise, the Gaudas can assign every village with which they have marriage connexions to one clan or another (aside from some special cases).

So far as I can ascertain the Gaudas have six clans plus ten 'neutral' villages which may have marriage relationships with any other Gauda village. It appears—and informants confirm this—that the unwieldly size of clans with over ten thousand different kinds of solution. The first employs divisional boundaries—the only situation in which the larger political divisions of the Nilgiris are relevant in the arrangement of marriages. Gaudas observe a rule that clan exogamy is essential only in marriages arranged between two villages *within* the same division. If the village is in any of the other three divisions, and if there is no known precedent of a marriage with that particular village, then it is usually *treated* as a member of another clan even though it would be possible to argue that it belonged to the same clan were the villagers to trace out a network of other known marriage connexions that indirectly link the two villages. If in one's own division two villages A and B have both had marriages with village C, then A and B usually belong to the same clan and call themselves 'brothers'. But if the villages A and B are in different political divisions then the fact that at some time they both married people from (or into) village C—which might be anywhere in the three other divisions of the plateau—is deemed irrelevant. In practice, where a history of marriage with C could be demonstrated for both A and B, the villagers would usually rationalize the

262 food in the outer room only, whereas Ha:ruvas and Kaggusis
264 allow them to eat in the inner room. Such dining occasions usually
615 arise when Gaudas visit families related to them through marriage. In each of these cases the Gaudas receive only vegetarian food; more generally the vegetarian phratries do not eat with non-vegetarians. Toreas may be given food in the outer room of a Gauda home, but meat-eating Adikiris (who may marry Gaudas) eat in the inner one.

KUMBA:RAS

615 Few Badagas know of the existence of this phratry, so small are its numbers. They have only fifty households, or about 300 people,
(162) who live in two villages near Male Ko:te, where they were once employed as potters (whence their name). Each village is an
(628) exogamous clan; when possible, alliances are arranged between the two. As one village contains four times as many families as the other the larger village has to look elsewhere for most of its
(177) spouses, however. They no longer intermarry with other Badagas but with the several thousand families of Kanarese Kumba:ras living in and near Mysore City who are believed by the Nilgiri Kumba:ras to share a common ancestry with them. The Kumba:-ras living on the plateau nevertheless class themselves as Badagas and are so recognized by their neighbours as they bear a Badaga culture identical with that of the Gaudas. Among those Badagas who know the Kumba:ra villagers many consider them to be Gaudas, though only at Me:lu:ru have they been absorbed into the Gauda phratry.

(323) The traditional occupation of Kanarese Kumba:ras was potting,[17] and although these Badagas no longer know the craft there are any number of broken sherds stratified at a depth of two or three meters in the ramparts of the old Male Ko:te fortification to testify to this former industry. On the basis of their presumed (if servile) connexion with royalty the Kumba:ras claim to be the highest of all Badaga phratries; other Badagas knowing anything about them rank them below Gaudas and above Be:das and
(262) Toreas. Some Kumba:ras are vegetarians; most are not. Their
(264) rules for commensality are the same as those of Gaudas.

BE:DAS

615 Another small phratry neighbouring on the Kumba:ras, the

21 Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Be:das, also number about fifty families divided between two clans. Their two villages near Male Ko:te each include members of both clans and thus are not exogamous (Metz, 1864, 47–48; Francis, 1908, 350, 370). Though they no longer marry with any other Badagas they, too, are undeniably Badagas. These people either marry into the other Be:da clan or arrange marriages with Kanarese Be:das (who are not Badagas) from Mysore City and Tiruppu:r (Coimbatore District).

The Be:das believe they came to the hills as hunters in service to the chieftain of Ummattu:r; the word *be:da* means 'hunter' (Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 331; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 382, no. 4547). Though now only farmers they supplemented their diet until 1950 by hunting on the jungle slopes with bow and arrow. As they are eaters of meat and traditionally takers of life they are now ranked by other Badagas as lower than Kumba:ras but still above Toreas. It is worth noting that Kumba:ras and Be:das, like other non-Lingayat villagers, have their own 'commune Toreas' who act as messengers for the headmen. Most Badagas know so little about Be:das that they erroneously think of them as a group totally absorbed into the Gauda phratry. There are in fact two Gauda villages descended from unions of Gaudas with Be:das. The Be:das follow the same rules for commensality as Gaudas.

TOREAS

The Toreas were universally regarded as the lowest of Badaga phratries, but they had yielded that position to the Christians by 1900. In former times they were the poorest and least educated of Badagas (Harkness, 1832, 112). Though there are certain meat-eating Adikiris who have become absorbed into one Torea village the phratry is now endogamous. It numbers about 5000 people and occupies twenty-six villages. No historical connection can be traced between them and the Kanarese Toreas.[18]

Like all other Badagas they are primarily cultivators, but in addition they hold a traditional role of messengers and 'commune servants', even in the Be:da villages, whence their low status. Certain Toreas are even now appointed (except in Lingayat villages) for specific duties at festivals and some public ceremonies, particularly funerals. For this they receive a quarter-rupee and three measures of grain from each household. In some Torea

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

582 [538] Another factor entering into the choice of a bride is expressed in the proverb, 'Have the girl from a far-away place; have the cow from a nearby place.'[7] It is generally felt that a woman from a distant village who is a classificatory cross-cousin will make the best of wives, for she will not take too many liberties with affines who are not previously well-known to her, and at the same time she will be unable to run home to her parents too often; in short, she is likely to remain in the marital home and work adequately there. An example of an ideal marriage with a classificatory father's sister's daughter is to be seen in Diagram 9 (p. 179) (the man marked X). The principle of 'equivalence' of brothers in this kinship table makes X's wife a cross-cousin to him.

565 [121] In Chapter 10 we will discuss the manner in which the modern Badaga community is becoming a class society. We should nonetheless note here that already by the nineteenth century a class of 'gentry' had arisen in each village. This is the term I have chosen for the families descended from the village founders and including all of the headman. As will be seen, these people had higher social status than others and a peculiar status in Badaga law, to be explored in Chapter 8.

128 The marriage system which now links the forty-four Badaga clans into ten phratries is a very complex one and calls for a clarifying diagram to accompany the following pages of description. Each circle in Diagram 7 represents one clan, and the intervening lines link clans which customarily intermarry. Clans have been grouped into phratries. The dotted lines mark irregular but acceptable patterns of marriage. The subcultural divisions between Lingayats and other Shaivites, between Christians and Shaivites, and between vegetarians and meat-eaters, have also been indicated.

WODEAS

615 [162] The majority of Badagas rank Wodeas as the highest phratry in the community.[8] They occupy twelve villages scattered across the plateau, some very close to the villages of lower phratries. Their villages are not all exogamous. There are perhaps four thousand Wodeas, distributed among three unnamed clans, or six septs. These septs, with their variant names, are as follows:

615 614 612 Clan I: Şu:riya and Selandi (or Sedili) septs;

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

food (always vegetarian) only in the outer, less-sacred part of a Wodea house. Members of the Nilgiri tribes accept food from the Wodeas too, but are not allowed to pass beyond the veranda into the house.

KOṄGARU

These people, like Ha:ruvas, wear a single thread without *linga* and are vegetarian. They intermarry with Kaṇakkas, Ha:ruvas and Kaggusis. There are four villages of Kongaru.

HA:RUVAS

Like the Wodeas, the one clan of Ha:ruvas numbers about four thousand people. They occupy only six villages, but this does not imply that the villages are unusually large, for very often a Ha:ruva family lives permanently in a Gauda village. Perhaps half the Ha:ruvas are so distributed, as they have traditionally been priests in Gauda and Torea temples. Of the five clans making up the phratry to which they belong (the only unnamed one), Ha:ruvas alone have challenged the Wodeas for primacy in the social hierarchy. The ramifications of this claim will be explored when the Badaga factions are discussed (see below, pp. 203–204).

Ha:ruvas are vegetarian Shaivites but not Lingayats. For over a century they have been claiming that they were originally Brahmins before leaving Mysore and that they should therefore be treated as such.[11] This Brahminization, reminiscent of the nineteenth-century Kherwar movement in the Santal tribe (Orans, 1965, 36–37), has been primarily an attempt to gain higher rank. Little of Ha:ruva behaviour accords with that of true Mysore Brahmins, however. The three indicators in support of their Brahminhood are the observable facts that they are vegetarians, they wear a thread across the left shoulder and they have acted as temple priests to the great majority of Shaivite Badagas.[12]

Despite these arguments the subculture of the Ha:ruvas is for Brahmins a most atypical one: they have no special ceremony for investiture of the sacred thread and do not consider themselves 'twice-born'; the thread itself has only one strand instead of the customary three; until this century they were totally illiterate in Sanskrit, Tamil and Kannada; and they are altogether exoga-

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

614 mous. They are in fact like any other Badaga clan in matters of marriage, having unions with other clans of dissimilar subculture, especially the Kanakkas, and even marrying meat-eating Gaudas.

614 If a Ha:ruva girl marries a Gauda then no meat is ever cooked in his house, and his wife remains a vegetarian. If her husband 262 wants to eat meat he may arrange to have some cooked elsewhere and eat it away from home. The children of the union are fully Gaudas and will normally be non-vegetarians. When the Ha:ruva woman dies her household usually reverts to a non-vegetarian diet. It has been reported that, on the other hand, 'If a Badaga [Gauda] woman marries a Haruva she has to give up meat-eating and, to cleanse her, a red hot iron is put to her tongue' [13] 'After this she would not dare to eat meat . . . she would lose her eyesight' (Karl, 1945, 3). From this we can see that a woman married into a Ha:ruva family is expected to accept its dietary norms, whereas a Ha:ruva girl married into a socially lower clan is not expected to accept their diet (Tignous, 1911, 117). A Ha:ruva girl marrying into a Lingayat family does not change her diet but will have to wear the *linga* if it is offered her and to behave as a Lingayat. When a Ha:ruva man marries a Lingayat girl he continues to wear his thread while she usually continues to wear the *linga* if it has already been given her (see Plate 6).

614 Ha:ruvas are willing to accept food in the inner and more sacred room (where household gods are installed) of any other clan except 264 the Toreas. They would not demean themselves by entering a Torea house; and they would probably be offered food only in the outer room of a Wodea house. Wodeas never accept food in a Ha:ruva home as they consider Ha:ruvas inferior; but the other three Lingayat clans will eat in the inner room of a Ha:ruva house. Even meat-eating Adikiris, who are not Lingayats, can be [574] offered vegetarian food in the inner Ha:ruva room. The same holds true for visiting Gaudas and Kaggusis, people who may often come if related to the Ha:ruva household by marriage. Until the 1950s the Ha:ruvas also allowed Todas, Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasuvas to eat in the outer room, but Kotas were thought too polluting to pass beyond the entrance; since that time only Todas have been allowed into the house.

ADIKIRIS

614 The vegetarian Adikiris are a Lingayat clan numbering perhaps
● [162]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

3,500 people who inhabit sixteen villages scattered across the plateau. Though they should only marry with Ha:ruvas or Kaṇakkas, in the past eighty years a few Adikiri people have married girls from Lingayat families in Mysore villages. It is rare on the other hand for a girl to go from the Nilgiris to Mysore in marriage. There have also been a few irregular cases of vegetarian Adikiris marrying meat-eating Gaudas (but never meat-eating Adikiris).

The Adikiri villages come closer to being a corporate group than any of the other clans, except for the two tiny phratries of Kumba:ras and Be:das. This solidarity stems from the fact that Adikiris, alone of all the clans, hold an 'annual reunion'. Every November they go to the village of Nellitore, on the Coimbatore Plain, to worship at the place where a Lingayat saint was drowned. It was from this point that the original six Adikiris started up into the Nilgiris.[14] Today it is obligatory for at least a few men from each Adikiri village to attend the annual function, to which members of other Badaga clans are also welcome.

Despite this demonstration of Adikiri solidarity there have been several defections from the clan and its Lingayat values. In one village (Sakkata) Adikiris married with Toreas a few generations ago and now are treated as Toreas although sometimes called Adikiris. In one other Gauda village (So:lu:ru) Adikiris have intermarried with meat-eating Gaudas. In both these situations the soi-disant Adikiris are no longer vegetarians or Lingayats (Metz, 1864, 50–51). The three other meat-eating Adikiri villages do not dine with Toreas, but they may take a meal in the inner room of a Gauda house. In two villages of vegetarian Adikiris the *liṅga* is not worn, but the inhabitants retain the name and status of Adikiris and belong to the same clan, though they are not considered Lingayat.[15]

Adikiris and Kanakkas eat only in the houses of Wodeas, Ha:ruvas and Koṅgaru, where they can feel sure of receiving the correctly prepared vegetarian dishes. Adikiris, like Kaṇakkas, admit Ha:ruvas, Kaggusis and other Lingayats to the inner room for meals (though Wodeas refuse to eat with them). Meat-eating Adikiris, Gaudas and Toreas, as well as Todas, may only eat in the outer room, while other Nilgiri tribesmen may not enter the house at all.

KAṆAKKAS

There are perhaps three thousand Kaṇakkas. Although now

614 agriculturists like all other Badagas they once held the monopoly
(162) over literacy in the Nilgiris (Grigg, 1880, 221). Their name means
'accountant', and refers to their former position as village accoun-
(195) tants under the Ummattu:r régime. Although the Kaṇakkas are
Lingayats and today have a status equal to the Adikiris', there are
some Badagas who whisper darkly that Kaṇakkas were in origin
(186) Tamilian, unlike all others. The Kaṇakka clan themselves would
not own to this, for experience with Tamil Nadu officials has led
most Badagas to look down upon the Tamilian.

Kaṇakkas intermarry with Adikiris, Ha:ruvas, Kohgaru and Kaggusis and during this century some have married girls from Lingayat families of Mysore villages. A few cases of Kaṇakkas marrying Wodeas have been cited above. As Kaṇakkas and Adikiris marry much more frequently with each other than with any other clan, and as both are Lingayat groups, they are now
(264) accorded equal status by all other Badagas. The rules for Kaṇakka commensality are precisely the same as those of Adikiris.

KAGGUSIS

(162) Among the smaller clans is the Kaggusi, numbering about two
(195) thousand. The people inhabit eight villages; they are vegetarians and Lingayats, but instead of wearing a personal *liṅga* they have one sacred *rudrakśa* bead on a string round the neck and do a daily *pu:ja* to that. Their marriages are mainly with Gaudas, though also with Kaṇakkas and occasionally Wodeas. As soon as Kaggusi men reached the plateau and married Gauda girls they left off wearing the *liṅga* and kept it in their houses, as they still do. It is noteworthy that Adikiris will not marry Kaggusis on the grounds that, as Kaṇakkas *do* marry them, the Kaggusis must be fictive brothers to the Adikiris (although the two in fact belong to different septs); yet no such argument stops the Adikiri from marrying a Ha:ruva though logic dictates that it should. An explanation lies in the higher status Adikiris accord to Ha:ruvas.

(264) Kaggusis allow vegetarians and the meat-eating Gaudas into the inner room for a meal, but they feed the lower meat-eating phratries in the outer room. Members of other tribes may eat only on the veranda.

GAUDAS

615 About eighty per cent of the entire population is Gauda, so that

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

dominates because of its size, for it consists of some twenty-five families, as compared with the four families in each of the four smallest clans. It is the leader of Ku:kalu clan who settles most of the disputes in these eight villages, although each of them has its own headman. When neither he nor the family elders were able to resolve difficult disputes in the past, the headman of Ku:kalu commune in the northeastern Nilgiris was asked to adjudicate.

The eight villages contain a population of about 800 Badagas, as well as several hundred Iruḷa tribesmen. While no intermarriage occurs between the two groups, there have been stray cases of Badaga men keeping Iruḷa mistresses.

The comparable situation of a peripheral Badaga community living in the Wainad will be discussed below (see pp. 129–131).

NOTES

1. Grigg, 1880, 219. Their factual legends, devoid of supernatural elements, are in sharp contrast to the origin myths of such tribes as the Toda and the Santal; compare Rivers, 1906, 184, and Orans, 1965, 5.
2. Rivers, 1906, 36; Emeneau, 1937, 103, where the number of clans given for tōwḷḷy is incorrect; see also Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 125. On the priests who make sacrifice, see Rivers, 1906, 39–42, 71–72, 276–285, 354.
3. Srinivas, 1942, 32–38; Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 477. For the taboo on killing snakes, see Breeks, 1873, 104.
4. Diagram 7 roughly illustrates the hierarchy. A stranger to this community will hear claims of much higher ranking than the speakers would dare voice to members of other Badaga clans; here we will only present the most widely agreed-upon ranking. (The existence of a hierarchy does not *ipso facto* make this a caste society).
5. Ward, 1821, lxxi; Hough, 1829, 88. Their thread, unlike that of Brahmins, has only one strand.
6. Note, for example, the wives of Huṭṭi in Diagram 5. The Badaga kinship terminology is of the Dakota type (Hockings, in press).
7. heṇṇa du:ranta koḷḷu/danava sa:renta koḷḷu.
8. Jagor, 1876, 202; Francis 1908, 130–131. "At a funeral the Badagas in general take off their turbans, but the Wodearu keep theirs on. Every Native, not even excepting the petty hill-chiefs [headmen], must bow down before them and pay them adoration"; Metz, 1864, 48–49. During the great memorial ceremony Wodeas are honoured with a bed on which they are invited to sit; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 14.
9. There have also been a few irregular marriages of Wodea girls to men living in Mysore State and the Kollegal Hills near Ha:sanu:ru; see below, pp. 216–217.
10. Grigg, 1880, 220; Francis, 1908, 130–131; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 72–73. The name *Wodea* actually means 'owner, lord, master, ruler'; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 45, n. 510.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

177 (233) hundred buffaloes permanently in the Moyar Ditch under the charge of Kasuvas because of shortage of grazing around Be:ragani itself. The herdsmen are paid from temple funds.

177 796 As in the case of Kurumbas, Irulas and Uralis, a Kasuva band may perform at Badaga ceremonies in place of the customary Kota one. Aside from this, there is one annual ceremonial event which has brought the two communities together in considerable numbers over the past decade or so. This is a complex *pu:ja* to the goddess Sikkamma at her Kasuva-owned temple in the Moyar Ditch, held every March. Roughly five thousand Badagas and most Kasuvas attend, the highlights of the event being *pu:ja*, a free meal, and a noisy night-time procession with the goddess' image mounted on an electrically lit elephant.

BADAGAS AND URALIS

648 177 The Uralis are a tribe of gatherers and shifting cultivators who inhabit jungles on some southern slopes of the plateau. They have no regular connexion with Badagas, but as they are feared for their sorcery they can depend on alms from Badaga villagers should a crop failure force them to wander up onto the plateau, as it occasionally has. Under unusual circumstances Badagas may pay a band of Uralis to perform music at a ceremony when for some reason Kotas cannot be invited.

THE WAINAD GAUDAS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

621 (173) The Wainad Gaudas are Badagas who settled on the lower plateau some two centuries ago. In proximity to them are various other groups: Kotas, Chettis, Panias, Irulas, Kurumbas and until 1925 some Todas. The Gaudas, a dominant community in the area, cultivate dry and irrigated rice. They claim it was the desire for rice which had prompted their ancestors to move down into the Wainad from Badaga villages on the Nilgiri Plateau.

621 (162) (623) The community consists only of Gaudas, except one commune which also has some Toreas (now calling themselves Gaudas). The 951 people live in ten communes, each made up of a few hamlets containing one lineage. Every commune has a council, and for complex cases a council of all the Wainad communes is held at

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

are available for the total area under crop by Badagas.[14] In the case of the administrative 'village' of Sholur nevertheless good data (McIver & Stokes, 1883; Benson, 1884; Arputhanathan, 1953, 43; Subrahmanyam, 1962, 3–4) allow a realistic comparison with the recent situation (see Table 1). This 'village' (actually a commune) may be considered typical of Badaga settlements and has hardly changed its official boundaries since the Land Settlement of 1884.[15]

Table 1. *Sholur (So:lu:ru) 'Village': eighty years of agricultural change*

Total 'village' area, 1884	9113 hectares
Total 'village' area, 1961	9111 ha.
Registered *patta* lands, 1884	913 ha., all held by Badagas
Registered *patta* lands, 1962	1619 ha., nearly all held by Badagas
Number of *pattas*, 1884	49 single registrations, 63 joint ones (i.e., total of 112 *pattas)*
Number of *pattas*, 1962	372 in total
Population, 1881	1772, all communities, in 384 houses
Population, 1961	8518, all communities, in 930 houses
Estimate of cropped area, 1880–1881	749 ha.
Estimate of cropped area, 1962	607 ha.

From Table 1 evidence of several important shifts emerges:

A. In eighty years the population increased fivefold.

B. In eighty years the size of households doubled, from an average of 4.61 to an average of 9.15.[16]

C. In eighty years the number of registered land holdings *(pattas)* more than tripled.

D. In eighty years the area of *patta* land doubled through release of government-held reserves (but was not all cropped).

E. Fragmentation of holdings has thus been taking place.

F. The estimate of the total cultivated area in 1962 was a little below that for 1880–1881.

G. Average cultivated area has thus dropped from 0.42 ha. per capita in 1881 to 0.07 ha. per capita around 1961; in other words, only one-sixth as much cropped land is being used as there was in 1881 for each person.

We may conclude from the recent situation at Sholur (So:lu:ru)

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

was mostly in steep rocky places ill-suited to any cultivation.)

14. Grigg, 1880, 321, mentions there were 29,912 acres (12,105 ha.) of farming land on the plateau in 1862–1863 but considers this 'a fictitious number'. Fifteen years earlier Ouchterlony had estimated that the Badagas alone used 12,750 ha.; Grigg, 1880, 13.

15. It is 19 km. by road from Ootacamund and embraces the Badaga commune of So:lu:ru.

16. That Sholur was not atypical in this respect is suggested by the fact that in 1867 the average number of persons per Badaga household for the entire district was 4.36; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 61.

17. Land utilization figures for the entire district, 1905–1960, in Nambiar (1965), do not isolate the role of Badaga agriculture.

18. Ranga, 1934, 68. As early as 1908 Francis (p. 167) noted: 'Potatoes are much exported to Ceylon, the Straits [Malaya] and Burma . . .' It was in 1908 that the railway connecting Ootacamund with the plains was completed.

19. Ranga, 1934, 14–15, 18–22. 'In fact many planters advance money to Badagas to enable them to dig pits and plant tea . . . with the intention of being able to purchase that land'; Ranga, 1934, 15.

20. Merchants also granted credit for purchase of daily needs—at much inflated prices; Ranga, 1934, 73–74; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249. Such traders are an excellent example of Simmel's 'resident stranger', whose presence catalyses a peasant economy by affording credit; Simmel, 1923, 509–512.

21. De:vaso:le, Kolekombe, Se:las, Gudalu:ru, Manju:ru, Ki:kotagiri, Nedugula, and Naduvatta; Baikie, 1857, 38, 88; Grigg, 1880, 471.

22. Nambiar, 1965, 23. The first time this problem beset Badaga farmers was in 1880; B.E.M.S., 1880, no. 41, 37; Grigg, 1880; 134.

23. Ranga, 1934, 7–9. Badaga contractors had been involved in such work since the mid-nineteenth century; McPherson, 1870, 21.

24. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 753; Francis, 1908, 129; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 63; Ranga, 1934, 8; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 248. These jobs included builders, blacksmiths, brickmakers, carpenters, clerks, domestic servants, painters, gardeners, washermen, teachers, printers, forest guards, tailors, barbers, water-carriers, stone-breakers, rickshaw-pullers, and even coolies and scavengers.

25. Jagor, 1876, 201–202; unlike most Hindus the Badagas do not employ washermen.

26. These were mainly Christians.

27. The categories are taken from the 1961 *Census of India*.

28. The designation is not recent; Francis, 1908, 265. On the Backward Classes generally, see Béteille, 1969, 87–145. Very recently the Nilgiri Hill Tribe Badaga Welfare Association was formed to promote government action in classifying Badagas as Scheduled Tribe, which would have material advantages for the community.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

Catholic priests became very active—mainly in converting Protestant Badagas—and thereby split the Christians into two culturally similar but structurally opposed groups, each maintaining a self-righteous and antagonistic stance not only towards the other Christian Church but also towards all Hindus.[8] By 1924 there were about a thousand Protestants and a hundred Roman Catholics (Société des missions-étrangères, 1924, vol. III, 466).

Since around 1935 an American couple, Pastor and Mrs. E.D. Willmott, succeeded in converting a few dozen Badagas—again mainly from the Protestants—to the Seventh Day Adventist Church; today some two hundred Badagas are members. Otherwise there has been little change in the balance between Catholics and Protestants, who were almost equal in number by 1947. After national Independence, although Badagas continued to become Adventists, the conversion of Hindus to the two major Christian sects virtually ceased, as did most conversion of Protestants to Roman Catholicism. Some recent conversions were engineered by a Catholic priest (a European) who was able to provide imported clothing, houses, CARE food packets and some land to new converts.

A recent count found 2093 Badaga Christians, of all denominations (Moses, 1964, 35). While there are still points of disagreement between members of the two main sects (pre-eminently in ecclesiastical matters), as there are between Hindus and Christians in general, these are being obfuscated as other cultural orientations become more relevant to the changing living conditions. There are now indications in casual conversation that Badagas are adapting their orientations to a newly emerging pattern of social solidarity, one linking all Badagas, whether Christian or Hindu, in the face of competition with other Indians. Some Hindu Badagas, for instance, are willing to admit that the Christians set them a good example—an allusion to the standards of honesty, hard work, education, and 'progressive' treatment of their womenfolk that are admired in some Christians and that make them a westernizing model for other Badagas (Ranga, 1934, 5–6). The Badaga community is now usually called a caste, and its members are more strongly aware of their identity as Badagas, a group for which the state government shows particular concern and beneficence by treating as a 'Backward Class'.[9] Thus the chances of material betterment through wider employment opportunities which a century ago prompted a few Badagas to change their

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

NOTES

161
162
000

1. The district total at time of census; there were then an additional 640 Badagas beyond the district boundaries, and thus the real total was 85,463. By 1971 it had become 104, 919.
2. Another six Todas, indigenous to the Nilgiris, were outside the district at time of census. By 1971 there were 930 Todas.
3. Though a few live within the district, they are not primarily a Nilgiri tribe: their national total was 1,078. In 1971 their Nilgiri total was only 46.

631 colonization of this rather inaccessible area. The recency of its settlement,
(166) when compared with other parts of the Nilgiris, is suggested by the fact that the name of the division lying directly to the east of it is Merkunad -- which means "Western District". It is also common when people are talking about the plateau divisions to use the set phrase, "all the four districts, including Kunda", as though it were somehow exceptional to consider Kunda a district at all.

The fifth division, Malnad, though inhabited by a very few Badagas (or Wynaad Gaudas), Kotas, and -- until 40 years ago -- Todas, is generally thought of by these three tribes as an alien land; and it was certainly not integrated into the indigenous political system in the way that the other four divisions were.

(658) This subdivision of the Nilgiris was taken over by the British for administrative purposes, and continued in use until the early years of the present century, when it was superceded by a redivision of the District into three talukas. The rural inhabitants have however continued to think primarily in terms of their indigenous divisions in matters which involve the Nilgiri-wide social system and its juridical processes.

632 Each of these areas is divided into a number of "villages", usually bet-
(631) ween ten and twenty of them. Each "village" in turn consists of a varying number
(621) of neighboring hamlets belonging normally to any one of the six phratries. One hamlet, not necessarily the largest nor even of the highest-ranked phratry, takes permanent precedence and gives its name to the entire "village".

(162) Thus Ketti, for example, is an average-sized "village" in Merkunad with a Badaga population of about 5000. It consists of 17 hamlets, the chief one
621 being Ketti, largely a Gauda hamlet. On one side of this hamlet there are eleven
615 Toreya houses, and on the other side, separated from the Badagas slightly, are

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

128 Badagas rank them in the social hierarchy.

The diagram overleaf (p. 53) is an elaboration of one given above (p. 46). Here again each rectangle represents one sib, and thin lines link the sibs which traditionally intermarry. The broken lines indicate abnormal marriages that occur only at rare intervals. The heavier lines mark the main subcultural divisions within the community, between vegetarians and meat-eaters, and between Lingayats and the other Saivites.

615 The majority of Badagas rank the Wodeyas as the highest phratry in the
• 062 community (Francis 1908: 130-31). They occupy about a dozen hamlets scattered across the Nilgiris, some of them very close to the hamlets of other phratries; perhaps they number 3000 people. The Wodeyas, unlike the lower-ranking phratries, are divided into four named, exogamous sibs, several of which will be represented in the population of each of their hamlets. In some ways, therefore, the organization of the Wodeya phratry is like that of the next phratry, the Adikari-Kapakka-Haruva-Kaggusi grouping; for this too is made up of four named, exogamous sibs. The difference is that members of the various sibs in this second phratry do not typically inhabit the same hamlet, and may not intermarry with any one of the other three sibs.

582 Wodeya marriages are nearly always arranged between members of any
584 two of the four sibs; with the proviso that a man should not marry into a family in
615 which his mother's sister, mother's brother, father's sister or father's brother have married. But since the beginning of this century some marriages have been contracted with Wodeya Lingayat girls from the Mysore Plains, who are not Badagas at all. In a few cases Wodeyas have even been known to marry Kapakka girls.

574
615 Wodeyas will not accept food from the Haruvas or any socially lower phratry, although they will eat in any other Wodeya house (Grigg 1880: 220). Other Badaga phratries accept food -- which is always vegetarian -- in the outer room of a Wodeya house. Members of any of the other Nilgiri tribes will accept vegetarian food from the Wodeyas too; but they are not allowed to pass beyond the veranda into the home.

615 The Haruvas are a small sib living in only four hamlets. Like the Wodeyas, they probably number about 3000 people. This does not mean that Haruva
• [162] hamlets are unusually large, for it is very common for a single Haruva family to live permanently in a Gauda hamlet: perhaps two thousand of the Haruvas are so
(793) distributed. This is because Haruvas customarily act as priests in the Gauda
(614) temples (Benbow 1928: 7-9). Haruvas, Kanakkas, Adikaris and Kaggusis are the four exogamous sibs which make up their phratry -- the only unnamed one, incidentally. But of the four sibs just mentioned, Haruvas alone have challenged the Wodeyas for prime position in the Badaga social hierarchy. The ramifications of their claim will receive further attention when we discuss Badaga factions.

614 The Haruvas are Śaivites, but not Lingayats. For over a century at least they have been claiming that they were originally Brahmins before they ever left Mysore for the Nilgiris, and that they should therefore now be treated as such (Francis 1908: 131). Little of their behavior accords with the orthodoxy of true Brahmins in the villages of the plains, however. The three indicators in support
(793) of their Brahminhood are the indubitable facts that they are vegetarians, they wear a thread across one shoulder, and they do very frequently act as temple priests to the great majority of Śaivite Badagas.

262 562 614 (753) not dare to eat meat because of the superstitious belief that she would lose her eyesight" (Karl 1945: 3). From this we can see that a woman who marries into a Haruva family is expected to accept its dietary norms, whereas a Haruva girl marrying into a socially lower sib is not expected to accept its dietary norms (Thurston 1911: 117). If a Haruva girl marries into an Adikari or Kapakka family there will be no change in her diet; but she will be expected to wear the lingam if it is given her, and to behave as a Lingayat. When a Haruva marries a Lingayat girl he continues to wear his thread but she usually continues to wear the lingam (if one has already been given her).

574 614 [186] Haruvas are willing to accept food in the inner (more sacred) room of any other Badaga sib except the Toreyas. They would not demean themselves to enter a Toreya house; and they would probably be offered food only in the outer room of a Wodeya house. Wodeyas never accept food in a Haruva house, as they believe Haruvas to be inferior; but the other Lingayat sibs both eat in the inner room of a Haruva house. Even meat-eating Adikaris, who are not Lingayats, are offered vegetarian food in a Haruva's inner room. The same holds true for visiting Kaggusis and Gaudas; people who might often have occasion to visit a Haruva household if they are related to it by marriage. Haruvas also allow Todas, Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasubas to eat in the outer (less sacred) room of the house, but Kotas are considered too polluting to pass beyond the entrance.

614 582 (162) The vegetarian Adikaris are a Lingayat sib, numbering perhaps 3500 people, who inhabit sixteen hamlets scattered across the plateau. The sib should only intermarry with Haruvas or Kapakkas; but in the past 30 years a few have married girls from Lingayat families in Mysore. Rarely will a girl from the Nilgiris go to Mysore to marry, on the other hand. There have also been a few

614 of ancestral Kapakkas and are worshipped but never read. No ancient manuscripts
718 were discovered in Kannada, it should be noted.

Kapakkas intermarry with Adikaris, Haruvas and Kaggusis, and during
582 this century some have married girls from Lingayat families in Mysore. A few
614 cases of Kapakkas marrying Wodeyas have also been cited above (p. 54).

As Kapakkas and Adikaris marry much more frequently with each other than with any other sib, and as they are both Lingayat groups, they are normally accorded equal status by all Badaga phratries. The regulations for Kapakka commensality are precisely the same as those described above for the Adikaris.

Among the smallest sibs is the one called Kaggusi. Their numbers must
614 total slightly under a thousand. These people are vegetarians who inhabit only four
•[162] hamlets. They wear neither the sacred thread nor the lingam. The sib, like all
582 others, is exogamous: they intermarry mainly with Kapakkas, but also with Haruvas
614 and Gaudas. It is interesting to note that the Adikaris will not marry Kaggusis on the grounds that, because Kapakkas do marry them, they must be fictive brothers to the Adikaris; yet no such argument stops an Adikari from marrying a Haruva. Perhaps Haruva/Kaggusi marriages are too infrequent to be remembered by the Adikaris.

Some 90% of the total population of Badagas are Gaudas; for which reason
615 this phratry is commonly called Badaga. A rough estimate puts their population at
[162] around 80,000 people. It is preferable to use the correct but not widely recorded
[121] term Gauda, since it obviates the confusion that can arise in calling a single phratry and also the entire community by the same name. The word Gauda also gives an important clue to their history and the origin of the Badaga political system; for

574 615 they will only be offered vegetarian food in the inner room. Usually it is only between two families related through a marriage that this latter situation might arise. Generally the vegetarians do not eat in non-vegetarian homes. Tenyas may be given food in the outer room of a Gauda house, but meat-eating Adikaris will eat in the inner room.

•162 615 Few Badagas know of the existence of a Badaga phratry called Kumbara, so small are its numbers. The Kumbaras live in two nearby hamlets on the northern edge of the Nilgiris (Metz 1864: 60), and total only 50 households -- about 300 people. 614 615 [582] The two hamlets are two exogamous sibs, and where possible intermarry. One of these hamlets, however, contains only ten families; so that the other hamlet has to look elsewhere for most of its spouses. They do not intermarry with any other Badagas, but do arrange marriages with any of the several thousand families of Kanarese Kumbaras who live in and around Mysore City. 615 Although these latter are not Badagas the Kumbaras of the Nilgiris believe that the two groups have common ancestry. Those living in the Nilgiris nevertheless class themselves as Badagas, are recognized as such by their neighbors, and carry a distinctively Badaga culture almost identical with that of the Gaudas. Many Badagas who know of their existence believe that the Kumbaras actually are Gaudas.

172 615 Within a half-mile of one of the hamlets is a deserted fortification, said to have been constructed several centuries ago by the Raja of Ummattur, a town of southern Mysore (Francis 1908: 350). Badaga folksongs indicate that the Kumbaras came into the hills in this Raja's retinue. The traditional occupation of their caste is ceramics, and although they no longer know how to make pots there are any number of broken sherds stratified at a depth of 2-3 meters in the ramparts of the old fortification to testify to their former industry on this spot. 186 615 On the basis of this

615 186 presumed connection with royalty the Kumbaras claim to be the highest of all Badaga phratries; but all other Badagas (who know of them) rank them above Toreyas and below Gaudas. Some Kumbaras are vegetarian, but most are not.

615 (162) The Bedas are another Badaga phratry living in the same locality as the Kumbaras, and also numbering about 50 families divided between two exogamous sibs. They inhabit only two hamlets, both near the old fortification of the Raja of Ummattur, and members of both sibs live in each hamlet (Metz 1864: 47-48; Francis 1908: 350, 370). The Bedas do not marry any other Badagas although, like the Kumbaras, they undeniably are considered Badagas: either they marry into the other Beda sib, or they arrange marriages with Kanarese Bedas — who are not Badagas — living in Mysore City or in Tiruppattur town (Salem District). (582) (614)

The Bedas believe that they came to the Nilgiris as hunters in the service of the afore-mentioned Raja of Ummattur: the word bēda means "hunter" (Burrow & Emeneau 1961: 382). Today they are only farmers; but until about 1950 they still supplemented their diet by hunting on the jungle slopes with the bow and arrow. They are normally meat-eaters, and — partly because they are traditionally takers of life — are ranked by the other Badagas as lower than Kumbaras but above Toreyas. It is interesting to note that both the Bedas and the Kumbaras, like all other non-Lingayat phratries, have their own "village Toreyan" who act as messengers for the headmen. Most Badagas know so little about the Bedas that they regard them as a community now absorbed into the Gaudas, which is in fact not the case at all.

The Toreyas are universally regarded as the lowest of the Badaga phratries; and although there are some meat-eating Adikaris who have been absorbed into their

615 number by intermarriage in one hamlet, they are now the only totally endogamous Badaga phratry. Their name suggests that they originated in an eponymous Kanarese community: "The Toreyas are a Canarese class, living chiefly in the Tamil districts of Coimbatore and Salem. They are said to have been originally fishermen and palanquin bearers, and the name is derived from tural, a river ghat. Most of them are now cultivators..." (Thurston 1909: VII, 176) The Badaga Toreyas are, like all other phratries, primarily cultivators. They do in addition hold a traditional role of messengers and "village servants" — even in Beda hamlets — whence their low status (Thurston 1909: I, 73-74). It seems likely that they used to be palanquin-bearers on the tortuous Nilgiri slopes until about 1830, when the roads were becoming suitable for cart traffic. Certain Toreyas are still appointed to run errands for the headmen, and to perform specific duties at festivals and some public ceremonies, particularly funerals. It is recorded that in the early part of the 19th Century they were also "weaving a kind of sackcloth" (Harkness 1832: 109); but today neither the Toreyas nor anyone else can recall anything of this craft.

615 692 The Toreyas are under a disadvantage at the hands of the Badaga judicial system; for in any hamlet or "village" where the Toreyas do not live apart from all other phratries they find that, while they are permitted to bring cases to the council and to sit at the meeting, they must not take part in the discussion which leads up to the headman's decision.

• 162 614 615 There are 26 Toreya hamlets in the entire Nilgiris, most of them being adjuncts to Ganda hamlets. A census of the Toreya settlements reveals an extraordinary disproportion in the sizes of the two exogamous sibs. 5½ hamlets are inhabited by one sib, and 20½ by the other. In approximate figures this means that 125 households belong to one sib, while 750 belong to the other. This situation is necessarily a temporary one, and can have persisted for only two or three

614 615

779 mentators who have left a large body of writings preserved in the monasteries of Mysore State.

(212) The Lingayat philosophy is a complex and neatly coherent system of speculation, but until literacy came to the Badagas during the present century it was known to Lingayat Badagas only in merest outline. Vīraśaivism is most prevalent in the present Mysore State, where the Mysore Backward Classes Committee

• (162) Final Report (1961) estimated the number of adherents in 1959 at 3,293,000. The few thousand of these people who live in the Nilgiris are the southernmost fringe of this religious community; and until the present century they were practically ignored by the monasteries in Mysore State.

Vīraśaivism is a creed that stresses the omnipotence of Śiva: a Lingayat should not worship any other god than Śiva, and must worship him through the medium of the image of the lingam, which hangs in a metal container from the man's neck throughout his adult life. There is a hierarchy of monks living in numerous monasteries throughout Southern India, although not in the Nilgiris; but temples are not a necessary part of Lingayat religion.

For Lingayats there is in their doctrine no caste: a Lingayat considers himself above and beyond a Brahmin in sanctity. Not only that, but people can be and have been converted to the Lingayat faith from any of the varnas, even sometimes from the Untouchables. The dead Lingayat is buried in the ground, and never cremated. Such universal Hindu tenets as the performance of śraddha (commemorative rites for the dead) and the concept of reincarnation are rejected by Vīraśaivism. It is essentially a reformer's philosophy, directed against the sacerdotal and Vedic traditions, and aiming to remove apparent social and religious evils from Hindu India.

779
776
(778)
(764)

Because of the isolation of the Lingayat Badagas, they have only recently begun to learn about the details of Vīraśaiva philosophy. They wear the liṅgam and bury their dead; but they worship various deities other than Śiva, just as other Badagas do, and have numerous temples with Lingayat priests but -- until two decades ago -- no monastery at all. Indeed, all seven categories of supernatural beings which we described earlier as influencing the lives of Śaivite Badagas are equally respected in the Lingayat hamlets. It would probably be correct to say that until the end of the last century the various Lingayat sibs differed culturally from all other Badagas only in their worship of a personal liṅgam and their custom of burying the dead.

184
779

795
(162)

Little need be said here about the Badaga Christians, as we must soon review their emergence as a faction. Their numbers (perhaps 2000) are divided fairly evenly between the unified Protestant Church of South India and the Roman Catholic Church. Relations between the members and clergy of these two churches are now very cordial, although this has not always been so. At the time we are presently concerned with, around 1913, there were no Roman Catholic Badagas: all of the Christians were Lutherans (Eppler 1900: passim).

621
795

The Badaga Christians live in the four Nīlgiri towns and in several Christian hamlets. These hamlets are exogamous, except in the case where a family has migrated from one hamlet to another and may then arrange marriages with Christians in its new place of residence. In recent cases of marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant, the bride will join whichever is her husband's church.

794
621
(793)

Discipline in a Protestant hamlet rests in the hands of the Pastorate Committee, which is composed mainly of laymen. This is in contrast with the more